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ABSTRACT

If work experience is a desirable way to improve the socialization of youth to adulthood, there is a need to know the kind of work experience which should be provided, and the ways in which opportunities for such experiences can be increased. Generally, the author believes that young people are less likely to be intimidated by the bureaucratic environment if they have become familiar with it in a variety of educational forms prior to their full-time entry into the labor force. Ideally, they will have acquired a wide range of experiences at all levels of a number of different kinds of organizations. The author believes that the most effective way to improve socialization to adulthood is to establish a network of federally funded, specially designed, educational work experiences for young people prior to their full time entry into the labor force. (Author/PC)

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WORK AS A WAY TO IMPROVE SOCIALIZATION TO ADULTHOOD[1]

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I'M GOING TO ADDRESS THREE QUESTIONS: IS WORK EXPERIENCE A DESIRABLE WAY TO IMPROVE THE SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH TO ADULTHOOD; IF SO, WHAT KIND OF WORK EXPERIENCE SHOULD BE PROVIDED AND; HOW CAN WE INCREASE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCH EXPERIENCES?

I. IS WORK EXPERIENCE A DESIRABLE WAY TO IMPROVE SOCIALIZATION TO ADULTHOOD:

A VARIETY OF RECENT REPORTS HAVE RECOMMENDED WORK EXPERIENCE AS A WAY OF SOCIALIZING YOUNG PEOPLE TO ADULTHOOD. IT IS POINTED OUT THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS A SPECIAL PROBLEM FOR THE YOUNG WHO HAVE THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AND THE LEAST DESIRABLE JOBS. THEY ARE THE LEAST SATISFIED MEMBERS OF THE LABOR FORCE AND ARE MOST LIKELY TO SEEK ALTERNATIVES TO REGULAR CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT SUCH AS CRIME, WELFARE, AND MILITARY SERVICE.

ONE DIAGNOSIS IS THAT YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE TROUBLE IN MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK BECAUSE SCHOOLS AND FAMILY ARE SO ISOLATED FROM THE WORLD OF WORK. EACH DAY MILLIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE ARE TRANSPORTED TO SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND MILLIONS OF ADULTS WHO HAVE ALL THE SKILLS AND ECONOMIC POWER ARE TRANSPORTED TO DIFFERENT PLACES CALLED WORK. IN THE SCHOOLS THE RATIO OF ADULTS TO YOUNG PEOPLE IS

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VERY SMALL, ABOUT 1:25; A CUSTODIAL RATIO THAT GUARANTEES THAT PEER INFLUENCES WILL DOMINATE THOSE INSTITUTIONS. BECAUSE OF THEIR SCARCITY OF ADULT ROLE MODELS AND THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE IMPORTANT ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETY, SCHOOLS PROVIDE LITTLE OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THEM TO ACQUIRE ADULT SOCIAL COMPETENCIES.

WHEN EMPLOYERS ARE ASKED WHY THEY REFUSE TO HIRE OR WHY THEY TERMINATE YOUNG PEOPLE, THEY OFTEN SAY THAT THE YOUNG ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY ASSERTIVE OR THAT THEY ARE TOO AGRESSIVE. THEY EXPLAIN THAT YOUNG PEOPLE DON'T SHOW UP FOR WORK AND DON'T CALL IN TO EXPLAIN WHY. THE YOUNG ARE SAID TO LACK THE SOCIAL COMPETENCIES, THE AFFECTIVE SKILLS THAT ARE CUMULATIVELY REFERRED TO AS GOOD CHARACTER IN THE MATURE ADULT. EMPLOYERS REVEAL THAT THEY DON'T REALLY TRUST YOUNG PEOPLE WITH MUCH RESPONSIBILITY WHILE READILY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT RESPONSIBILITY IS PRECISELY WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE NEED. THERE SIMPLY ISN'T ENOUGH RESPONSIBILITY TO GO AROUND, THEY SAY, AND BESIDES, "TEENAGERS AREN'T DEPENDABLE, AREN'T MATURE, AREN'T WELL TRAINED", ALL THE QUALITIES THAT MIGHT BE ACQUIRED WITH A LITTLE TRUST AND OPPORTUNITY. PROFITS COME FIRST. MOST MANAGERS IN THE PRIMARY LABOR MARKET HAVEN'T YET EVEN ENTERTAINED THE IDEA OF HIRING PEOPLE UNDER THE AGE OF 21.

YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE A DIFFERENT STORY. THEY SAY IT ISN'T THEMSELVES WHO NEED TO BE CHANGED; IT'S THE JOBS THAT NEED TO BE CHANGED. THE JOBS THAT ARE OPEN TO THEM ARE LOW PAYING PART-TIME VULNERABLE AND TEMPORARY FOR THE MOST PART AND ARE OFTEN DIRTY OVERCROWDED NOISY AND SOMETIMES DANGEROUS. THEY POINT OUT THAT WHERE ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

ARE MADE THEY ARE MADE ONLY AS CONCESSIONS TO INSISTENT DEMANDS BY WORKERS. THE PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE WORK EXPERIENCE AS A WAY TO IMPROVE THEIR SOCIALIZATION IS REJECTED AS WASTED ENERGY.

IN ITS RADICAL FORM THIS ARGUMENT HOLDS THAT THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL TRADE OFF BETWEEN MEANINGFULNESS OF WORK AND PRODUCTIVITY IN A PROFIT ORIENTED MARKET ECONOMY THAT IS NOT DEVOTED TO MEETING HUMAN NEEDS. THE WORKPLACE IS VIEWED AS SORT OF AN AUTHORITARIAN INFERNO THAT DICTATES THE POLICY OF SCHOOLS AND OTHER SOCIALIZING INSTITUTIONS AND IS IN SERIOUS NEED OF REFORM. IF SCHOOLS ARE ISOLATED FROM THE WORKPLACE, ALL TO THE GOOD. RATHER THAN DEEMPHASIZE YOUTH CULTURE BY EARLY INCORPORATION OF YOUTH INTO THE ADULT WORLD, WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DEMOCRATIZE THE WORKPLACE. PROTECT THE YOUNG.

IN MY OPINION THERE IS SOME MERIT IN BOTH THESE POSITIONS: YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE WORKPLACE NEED TO BE CHANGED. MANY YOUNG PEOPLE ARE ALREADY IN THE WORKPLACE. THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS ESTIMATED THAT THREE FOURTHS OF THE SENIOR CLASS OF 1972 WORKED AT LEAST 20 HOURS PER WEEK. THE QUESTION ISN'T WHETHER YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD WORK, THEY ARE AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO WORK; THE QUESTION IS WHAT KIND OF WORK IS BEST FOR THEM AND FOR SOCIETY?

SOME KINDS OF WORK ARE OF LOW QUALITY AND ATTEMPTS TO ADJUST YOUNG PEOPLE TO SUCH JOBS MERELY ADDS TO THEIR ALIENATION. BUT OTHER KINDS OF WORK EXPERIENCES CAN TEACH YOUNG PEOPLE TO EXAMINE THEIR JOBS, TO DETERMINE WHAT THINGS ARE WRONG AND IN NEED OF REFORM. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THE DESIGN OF THEIR JOBS, IN ORDER TO PRESS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE QUALITY OF THEIR WORK, YOUNG PEOPLE MUST LEARN ENOUGH ABOUT THE DETAILED OPERATION OF WORK ORGANI
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DETAILED OPERATION OF WORK ORGANIZATIONS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE AND DEFEND CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR REFORM.

I BELIEVE THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE LESS LIKELY TO BE INTIMIDATED BY THE BUREAUCRATIC ENVIRONMENT IF THEY HAVE BECOME FAMILIAR WITH IT IN A VARIETY OF EDUCATIONAL FORMS BEFORE THEY BECOME DEPENDENT ON IT UPON FULL TIME ENTRY INTO THE LABOR FORCE. IDEALLY THEY WILL HAVE ACQUIRED A WIDE RANGE OF EXPERIENCES AT ALL LEVELS OF A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF ORGANIZATIONS. THESE EXPERIENCES MIGHT INCLUDE EXAMPLES OF JOB ENRICHMENT, JOB ROTATION, JOB ENLARGEMENT, JOB PROGRESSION, AND OTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF WORK. WITH SUCH EXPERIENCES, THEY SHOULD HAVE SOME GOOD IDEAS IN THEIR REPERTOIRE ABOUT WHAT TO PROPOSE IF THEY ARE CONFRONTED ON EMPLOYMENT WITH AN UNHAPPY JOB SITUATION.

VERTICAL SAMPLING OF ASSIGNMENTS PRIOR TO REGULAR EMPLOYMENT MIGHT FAMILIARIZE STUDENTS WITH THE FEEL OF MORE IMPORTANT ROLES OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND WOULD MORE LIKELY LEAD TO RATIONAL LONG-TERM CAREER PLANNING BY STUDENTS WHO MIGHT EITHER MAKE AN EXPLICIT CHOICE TO PAY THEIR "DUES" AT ENTRY LEVEL TASKS IN ANTICIPATION OF MORE RESPONSIBLE ROLES AT SOME FUTUTE DATE, OR ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THOSE ENTRY LEVEL JOBS.

A WELL DESIGNED CURRICULUM OF WORK EXPERIENCES SHOULD HELP STUDENTS BECOME MORE ASSERTIVE AND ABLE TO NEGOTIATE FOR THEIR INTERESTS. STUDENTS MAY ACQUIRE A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP OF THE WORK ENVIRONMENT, GET A BETTER "PURCHASE" ON IT AND FEEL LESS CONSTRAINED ABOUT CHANGING IT IF THEY HAVE EXPERIENCED BETTER EXAMPLES. BUT WHETHER SUCH A CURRICULUM WILL FACILITATE CHANGE OR PRESERVATION OF THE STATUS QUO IS AN EMPIRICAL

QUESTION. THE ANSWER WILL PROBABLY DEPEND ON WHAT KIND OF WORK EXPERIENCES ARE PROVIDED.

II. WHAT KIND OF WORK EXPERIENCES SHOULD BE PROVIDED?

I COLLECTED SOME DATA ON JOB SATISFACTION OF EMPLOYED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND FOUND THAT THOSE WHO WERE IN WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES WERE MORE SATISIFIED WITH THEIR WORK THAN COMPARABLE STUDENTS WHO HAD SIMPLY ACQUIRED JOBS ON THEIR OWN FOR INCOME PURPOSES. IN BOTH GROUPS THE VARIABLES THAT CONTRIBUTED MOST TO THE VARIANCE IN JOB SATISFACTION WERE: GROUP ATMOSPHERE, AVAILABILITY OF ADULT ROLE MODELS, MEANINGFULNESS OF THE WORK AND AVAILABILITY OF FEEDBACK CONCERNING ONE'S PERFORMANCE. RECENTLY I HAVE OBTAINED SOME INTUITIVE SUPPORT FOR THAT SET OF VARIABLES AND ADDED A FEW TO THE LIST BY REVIEWING LETTERS AND LOGS OF STUDENTS WHO ARE ENROLLED IN OR HAVE RECENTLY COMPLETED SOME FORM OF EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE. THESE STUDENT EVALUATIONS COVERED THREE PROGRAMS: THE APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM AT THE SYNANON FOUNDATION DESIGNED FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 13 AND 18; THE EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION PROGRAM AT UCLA FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS WHO WORK IN VARIOUS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS FOR COLLEGE CREDIT; AND THE FIELD STUDY PROJECTS OF THE UCLA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT IN WHICH TEAMS OF MBA CANDIDATES PERFORM CONSULTING STUDIES FOR CORPORATE AND GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS.

IT TURNS OUT ON READING THESE LOGS AND LETTERS THAT THE VARIABLES THAT DIFFERENTIATE WORK EXPERIENCES RECEIVING POSITIVE STUDENT EVALUATIONS ARE THE SAME ONES THAT ARE IMPORTANT IN ANY LEARNING SITUATION. LET ME

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GIVE EXAMPLES OF FIVE OF THESE VARIABLES:

A. <u>VERBAL INSTRUCTION</u> - JOHN STRAND, WHO DEVELOPED THE SATELLITE ACADEMIES IN NEW YORK CITY WHEREIN STUDENTS WORK IN INSURANCE COMPANIES, STOCK EXCHANGE FIRMS, HOSPITALS AND THE LIKE FOR HIGH SCHOOL CREDIT, POINTED OUT TO ME ONCE THAT EVEN THOUGH STUDENTS ARE WORKING IN AN ORGANIZATION THEY DID NOT NECESSARILY SEE THE ALL IMPORTANT INFORMAL STRUCTURE AND HAD TO BE SPECIFICALLY TAUGHT BY OLD TIMERS IN SPECIAL RAP SESSIONS THE "RULES OF THE GAME": WHO NOT TO CROSS, HOW TO GET THINGS DONE, WHEN TO TALK AND WHEN NOT TO TALK ETC. THE NEED FOR SUCH INSTRUCTION IS ALSO EVIDENT IN THE LETTERS I EXAMINED.

THE BEST VERBAL INSTRUCTION PROBABLY OCCURS IN THE CONTEXT OF CLOSE SUPERVISION WHERE NECESSARY INFORMATION AND EXAMPLES CAN BE PROVIDED IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AS THEY ARISE. ONE STUDENT IN THE SYNANON APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM WROTE IN HIS LOG THAT WHILE HE WAS OUTSIDE SYNANON HE TOOK COURSES IN METAL SHOP AND AUTO SHOP BUT THAT HE LEARNED MORE ABOUT THESE TOPICS FROM HIS JOURNEYMAN SUPERVISOR IN TWO WEEKS THAN HE DID IN TWENTY WEEKS OF SCHOOL. I HAVE SEEN DOZENS OF STUDENT REPORTS DESCRIBING IN DETAIL WHAT THEY LEARNED FROM THEIR SUPERVISORS - EVERYTHING FROM PAINTING, COOKING AND CARING FOR SICK ANIMALS TO TROUBLESHOOTING SEWAGE SYSTEMS AND

MAINTENANCE OF HEAVY DIRTY EQUIPMENT, AIRCRAFT AND MOTORCYCLES. MOST IMPORTANT THESE STUDENTS QUICKLY LEARN TO ASK QUESTIONS WHEN IN DOUBT AND TO DEPEND ON THE QUALITY OF THEIR WORK FOR APPROVAL RATHER THAN WORRYING ABOUT "LOOKING" GOOD IN FRONT OF THEIR SUPERVISORS. THEY FREQUENTLY EXPRESS EXTRAORDINARY SENTIMENTS OF APPRECIATION FOR THE DIRECTION OBTAINED FROM THEIR SUPERVISORS, AN INDICATION PERHAPS OF THE RARITY OF THIS KIND OF PERSONAL INSTRUCTION FROM ADULT CRAFTSMEN.

B. ROLE MODELS

ROD MULLEN, EDUCATION DIRECTOR OF SYNANON, ATTRIBUTES MUCH OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR PROGRAM TO THEIR CHOICE OF ROLE MODELS. THEIR LAWYERS, MECHANICS, ACCOUNTS, MANAGERS ETC., AREN'T HIRED MERELY BECAUSE THEY POSSESS TECHNICAL SKILLS; THEY MUST ALSO BE MATURE ADULTS WHO CAN SERVE AS ROLE MODELS FOR THE YOUNG. THEY ARE SELECTED FOR STRENGTH OF CHARACTER AS WELL AS THEIR TECHNICAL COMPETENCE. SYNANON WILL NOT PERMIT JOURNEYMEN WHO LIE, DO NOT GIVE A FULL DAYS WORK OR WHO DON'T SHOW CONCERN FOR OTHERS, TO WORK IN THEIR ORGANIZATION. EVERY JOURNEYMAN IS EXPECTED TO BE A LEADER WHO WILL MERIT RESPECT AND ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING THE YOUNG OF THE COMMUNITY TO GROW UP. WHEN YOUTH PROBLEMS ARISE IN THE SYNANON COMMUNITY, ADULT BEHAVIOR IS THE PRIME SUSPECT AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF NEEDED CHANGES IN ADULT ACTION IS INITIATED. WHERE A STUDENT COMPLAINS IN HIS LOG THAT HIS SUPERVISOR HAS NOT GIVEN HIM ENOUGH ATTENTION THE EDUCATION DIRECTOR

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THE RATIO OF ADULTS TO YOUNG PERSONS IN THE SYNANON WORK ENVIRONMENT IS MORE LIKE 5 ADULTS TO ONE YOUNG PERSON, QUITE A CONTRAST TO THE 1:25 SCHOOL RATIO.

C. MEANINGFULNESS OF THE WORK

WORK SETTINGS CAN OFFER THE RISK, THE CHALLENGE AND THE GROUP SUPPORT THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE YOUNG TO ACQUIRE SELF-RELIANCE AND INTERPERSONAL SKILLS. THE WORKPLACE IS WHERE THERE IS THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITY FOR THE YOUNG TO ASSUME SOME RESPONSIBILITY AND TO SEE WHAT IT FEELS LIKE. THE BASIC NUTRIENT OF MEANINGFUL WORK IS THE SENSE THAT ONE IS NEEDED: THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO GAIN ADULT STATUS. BUT OFTEN THERE ISN'T ENOUGH MEANINGFUL WORK TO GO AROUND AND STUDENTS ARE GIVEN PARALLEL MAKE WORK OR MENIAL WORK THAT DOESN'T AFFORD AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MUCH GROWTH. FOR EXAMPLE IN ONE HIGH SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM THAT I VISITED IN A LARGE AEROSPACE FIRM IN CALIFORNIA, THE SUPERVISOR IN THE FILM LABORATORY COMPLAINED THAT HE DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO HELP HIS STUDENT EMPLOYEES. IN THE INSTRUMENTATION ROOM, TWO BOYS WERE GIVEN VACUUM TUBE VOLTMETER HEATHKITS TO BUILD TO KEEP THEM OUT FROM UNDERFOOT. THE REGULAR EMPLOYEES DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO GIVE TO THE STUDENTS BECAUSE THEY WERE ON A TIGHT SCHEDULE. TWO REGULAR EMPLOYEES STANDING IN THE HALL OUTSIDE THE COMPUTER ROOM

WERE OVERHEARD TO SAY, "THERE IS NO ROOM FOR US IN THERE; WE CAN'T DO ANY WORK WITH ALL THOSE KIDS AROUND" TWO TEENAGERS WERE INSIDE PLAYING TIC TAC TOE ON A TERMINAL AND ANOTHER COUPLE WERE IN A CORNER OF THE ROOM - MAKING OUT.

IN CONTRAST TO THAT EXAMPLE CONSIDER THE CASE OF THE UCLA MBA FIELD STUDY PROJECTS IN WHICH STUDENT TEAMS STUDY AN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS TOYOTA, OR NATIONAL CASH REGISTER, MEETING WITH THE CHIEF EXECUTIVES, INTERVIEWING WORKERS AT ALL LEVELS OF THE ORGANIZATION, COLLECTING AND ANALYZING DATA FROM THROUGHOUT THE COMPANY, LOCATING AND FOCUSING ON A PARTICULAR PROBLEM AND COMING UP WITH MAJOR POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE OFFICERS OF THE FIRM. IN THE PROCESS, LASTING FRIENDSHIPS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STUDY TEAM ARE FORMED DESPITE NUMEROUS INTERPERSONAL CONFLICTS THAT OCCUR DURING THE INTENSIVE WORK EXPERIENCE OVER PROBLEMS RELATED TO BALANCING THE WORK LOAD AND ESTABLISHING COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF MEANINGFUL WORK EXPERIENCE IS EVIDENT IN THE LOGS OF STUDENTS IN THE UCLA EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION PROGRAM WHO WORKED IN PRIVATE BOARD AND CARE HOMES FOR FORMERLY HOSPITALIZED MENTAL PATIENTS. THERE THEY BEGIN TO LEARN HOW HARD IT IS TO SAY NO TO PEOPLE WHO'S HUNGER FOR ATTENTION AND AFFECTION IS INSATIABLE. THEY LEARN TO COPE WITH FEELINGS OF ANGER OVER WHAT THEY SOMETIMES PERCEIVE TO BE UNFAIR AND UNJUST TREATMENT OF RESIDENTS AND DEVELOP A GROWING SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPACT OF THEIR CASUAL REMARKS ON THE RESIDENTS, SOME OF WHOM ARE SUICIDAL AND SUBJECT TO SUDDEN REVERSALS. THE CHINESE

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HAVE A SINGLE CHARACTER FOR DANGER AND OPPORTUNITY. STUDENT REPORTS ARE ALSO FILLED WITH THE STRUGGLE OVER FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES SUCH AS THE TRADEOFF BETWEEN NEEDS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NURTURANCE IN THE RESIDENTS AND BETWEEN THE STUDENT'S IMPATIENCE WITH BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES AND THE LIMITS OF THEIR OWN RESOURCES TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THEM.

D. Realistic Feedback

In many logs in which students report some progress in communicating more effectively with others or in becoming more assertive in dealing with an interpersonal problem, there is some mention of powerful feedback of some kind. For example, in Synanon, intensive group encounter sessions, or games as they are called, including journeymen and fellow apprentices provide individuals with feedback on the effects that their behavior has on others. Many of these sessions focus on the need for students to stand up for their rights and to confront others when necessary to correct inequities. Another popular topic is the failure of individuals to make and keep commitments and to assume responsibility affecting others.
More often the feedback comes as a direct and realistic consequence of the work efforts of the students. For example the MBA Field Study teams at UCLA report the results of their studies to the board of trustees who read it carefully, and ask probing questions. Sometimes these reports may result in the hiring of a general manager, the adoption of a new information system,

ABANDONMENT OF PLANS TO PURCHASE A NEW PIECE OF EQUIPMENT, OR THE REORGANIZATION OF AN ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT. THE STUDENTS IN ONE TEAM WERE SO IMPRESSED WITH THE OPERATION OF THEIR COMPANY THAT THEY PURCHASED STOCK IN THE ORGANIZATION. MEMBERS OF ANOTHER TEAM RECEIVED JOB OFFERS FROM THE COMPANY THEY WERE STUDYING AFTER ALL OF THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS WERE ADOPTED. IN OTHER CASES THE FEEDBACK TEACHES THEM HOW DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX IT IS TO MAKE EVEN RELATIVELY SMALL CHANGES IN A LARGE ORGANIZATION.

SOME OF THE LOGS PROVIDE EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE FEEDBACK WHICH OCCURS WHEN STUDENTS ARE GIVEN SOME SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITY AND MAKE UNWISE DECISIONS. IN THE BOARD AND CARE HOMES SOME OF THE STUDENTS GET CHALLENGED BY RESIDENTS WHEN MAKING LOOSE ILLIGICAL STATEMENTS AND THEY DEVELOP AN APPRECIATION FOR THE FACT THAT THE RESIDENTS ARE NOT MUCH DIFFERENT THEN THEIR CARETAKERS.

E. ADAPTATION TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

THE LOGS ALSO REVEAL INSTANCES WHERE WORK EXPERIENCES ARE ADAPTED OR NOT ADAPTED TO ACCOMMODATE INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN LEARNERS. IN THE EARLY STAGES WORK ASSIGNMENTS PROBABLY SHOULD BE CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS TO AVOID THE KIND OF COMPLAINT LOGGED BY ONE OF THE UCLA MBA FIELD STUDY TEAMS THAT THEY WERE UNPREPARED TO COPE WITH A FIRM TO WHICH THEY WERE ASSIGNED. THE EXECUTIVES OF THE FIRM WERE THREATENED BY CHANGE AND WOULD NOT

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GOOD EXAMPLES OF HOW WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS CAN BE ADAPTED TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES BY GRADUAL ESCALATION OF THE INTERACTIVE DEMANDS ON STUDENTS ARE ALSO EVIDENT IN THE LOGS. IN THE SYNANON ORGANIZATION FOR EXAMPLE THE YOUNG FIRST SERVE AN APPRENTICESHIP ROLE WHERE THE TASKS ARE CLEARLY DEFINED, QUITE STRUCTURED AND WITH AMPLE SUPPORT FROM SUPERVISORS. LATER THE APPRENTICE WILL ADVANCE TO MORE COMPLEX TASKS AND WILL RECEIVE SUPERVISORY EXPERIENCE. WITH ADDITIONAL EXPERIENCE THE APPRENTICE WILL ASSUME MORE AUTONOMY AND JOB VARIETY WITH GREATER CHALLENGES AND SOME MAY ASSUME INCREASING RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEWCOMERS IF MERITED BY EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE. THROUGHOUT JOB PROGRESSION IS CONFINED TO THOSE WHO DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY CAN HANDLE MORE DIFFICULT ASSIGNMENTS. ADVANCEMENT OCCURS WHEN STUDENTS CAN HANDLE NEW ASSIGNMENTS RATHER THAN WHEN THEY ARE OLD ENOUGH, HAVE THE RIGHT CREDENTIAL OR HAPPEN BY CHANCE TO MEET THE RIGHT PERSON.

III. How can we increase opportunities for such experiences?

ALTHOUGH PORTIONS OF AN IDEAL EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM CAN BE FOUND IN A VARIETY OF EXISTING PROGRAMS THE QUESTION IS HOW TO FUSE THEIR BEST FEATURES INTO A FORM THAT CAN BE IMPLEMENTED ON A LARGE SCALE.

ONE OBSTACLE TO AN EXPANDED USE OF THE WORKPLACE AS A RESOURCE FOR SOCIALIZING YOUTH TO ADULTHOOD IS UNEMPLOYMENT. IF THERE ARE NO JOBS THERE CAN BE NO LARGE SCALE PROGRAM OF EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE. BUT

LARGE-SCALE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ARE BEING LEVIED NOW AND IT IS POSSIBLE TO SPECIFY IN SUCH LEGISLATION THAT THE FUNDS BE USED TO PURCHASE JOBS WITH THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED DESIGN FEATURES TO MAXIMIZE THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATURATION SKILLS IN EMPLOYEES. AS LONG AS WE ARE CREATING JOBS, WE MIGHT JUST AS WELL CREATE EDUCATIONAL JOBS. THE DEAD-END TEMPORARY PICK AND SHOVEL TYPE WORK MAY SERVE INCOME TRANSFER PURPOSES BUT AT LEAST YOUNG PEOPLE AND MAYBE OLDER PEOPLE AS WELL, MAY NEED SOCIALLY USEFUL ROLES EVEN MORE THAN THEY NEED WELFARE. IN ADDITION TO PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT FUNDS, FEDERAL TAX INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS AND PERHAPS SOME REALLOCATION OF EXISTING LOCAL AND STATE EDUCATION REVENUES ARE LOGICAL CANDIDATES TO COVER THE COST OF ESTABLISHING AN EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM.

FISCAL SUPPORT WILL GO A LONG WAY IN RELIEVING THE POLITICAL OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS OF VARIOUS GROUPS TO SUCH A PROGRAM. BUT SOME REORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS AND WORK ORGANIZATIONS WILL ALSO BE NECESSARY. FOR EXAMPLE, PRODUCTIVE SCHOOL ENTERPRISES COULD PREPARE STUDENTS FOR THE WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAM. AS IN THE SYNANON HIGH SCHOOL, STUDENTS CAN OPERATE THE SCHOOL PLANT AND ASSUME WORK ROLES IN PRODUCTIVE SCHOOL ENTERPRISES THAT SERVE THE COMMUNITY.

CHANGES IN THE WORKPLACE ARE ALSO NECESSARY. THE WORKPLACE IS NOW SPECIALLY DESIGNED, THROUGH YEARS OF INCREMENTAL CHANGES, TO EXCLUDE THE YOUNG. MOST JOBS ARE SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO MAXIMIZE MATERIAL PRODUCTIVITY WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF LESS MATURE YOUTH. SIMPLY ADDING STUDENTS ONTO SUCH JOBS WITHOUT ANY RESTRUCTURING WILL OVERMAN THEM AND REDUCE PRODUCTIVITY. TO BRING YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS TOGETHER IN A WAY THAT PROVIDES AN EFFECTIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT FOR THE YOUNG WITHOUT

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SACRIFICING PRODUCTIVITY AND MORALE OF REGULAR WORKERS DEMANDS SOME REDESIGN.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT BE INDUCED TO SET UP DEPARTMENTS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR A PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY BUT THAT ALSO HAVE AN EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOME YOUNG PEOPLE. THIS DEPARTMENT WOULD HAVE AN ASSOCIATED RESEARCH CAPACITY TO REDESIGN WORK STATIONS AND "ENGINEER" WORK ENVIRONMENTS TO INSURE THAT THE INTENDED SOCIAL OUTCOMES ARE ACHIEVED. LOCAL EDUCATORS SHOULD BE INCLUDED AS PART OF THESE RESEARCH TEAMS TO PLAY AN ADVOCACY ROLE FOR STUDENT INTERESTS AND BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES OF THE WORK EXPERIENCE IN CONTRAST TO CORPORATE INTERESTS IN PRODUCTION, PROFITS, ADVERTISING, OR RECRUITING ENTRY LEVEL PERSONNEL.

IF POLITICAL OBSTACLES THWART THE MANIPULATION AND REDESIGN OF EXISTING JOBS THEN THE FUNCTION OF THE RESIDENT EDUCATORS MIGHT TAKE THE FORM OF SELECTION FROM AMONG THE POPULATION OF AVAILABLE JOBS THOSE THAT DO PROVIDE SOME EDUCATIONAL VALUE, TO COMPOSE THE CURRICULUM. THE WORK OF ALBERT MEHRABIAN, ROGER BARKER, AND RUDOLPH MOOS, PROVIDES A GOOD START ON WAYS TO MEASURE THE POTENTIAL OF JOB ENVIRONMENTS IN IMPROVING SOCIALIZATION TO ADULTHOOD.

IN SUMMARY, I SAID THAT I BELIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO IMPROVE SOCIALIZATION TO ADULTHOOD IS TO ESTABLISH A NETWORK OF FEDERALLY FUNDED, SPECIALLY DESIGNED, EDUCATIONAL WORK EXPERIENCES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE PRIOR TO THEIR FULL TIME ENTRY INTO THE LABOR FORCE.